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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3688

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 0720

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SPC FEBRUARY 8 DISCUSSION OF STABILIZING MEASURES

REF: A) USNATO 637 B) USNATO 555

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

SUMMARY: SPC ON FEBRUARY 8 PREPARED GROUND FOR THE FOLLOWING
AGREEMENT AT FEBRUARY 13 NAC ON UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN STABILIZING
MEASURES PAPER:

-- BELGIAN-DUTCH AGREEMENT TO DROP ANY MENTION IN MAIN BODY
OF STABILIZING MEASURES GUIDANCE ON VERIFICATION AND TO
FLAG POINT ONLY IN INTRODUCTORY COVER NOTE AS UNRESOLVED
ISSUE;

--US AGREEMENT TO MULTILATERALIZATION OF PRE-ACCOUNCEMENTS
AND OF INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS;
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--UK AGREEMENT TO DROP NATIONAL FOOTNOTE IN MAIN BODY OF
TEXT AND REPLACE IT WITH A "EUROPEAN" PARAGRAPH IN INTRODUCTORY
COVER NOTE;

--PLACING FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF MAIN BODY OF TEXT INTO COVER NOTE AND ADDING PARAGRAPH TO COVER NOTE STATING THAT IT IS UP TO THE AD HOC GROUP TO INTRODUCE SUCH DETAIL INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS AS IT SEES FIT FROM A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW; AND

---ADDING TO THE COVER NOTE A CROSS REFERENCE TO PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 OF THE COUNCIL GUIDANCE OF DECEMBER 7, IN ORDER TO HAVE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS REITERATE THAT FURTHER MEASURES WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

FULL TEXT OF INTRODUCTORY COVER NOTE DISCUSSED BY SPC SENT SEPTEL. MORE DETAILED COMMENTS BELOW ARE KEYED TO NUMBERED PARAGRAPHS IN COVER NOTE. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF NEW COVER NOTE IN TIME FOR FEBRUARY 13 COUNCIL MEETING. WE WILL ALSO NEED GUIDANCE ON NEW "EUROPEAN" PARAGRAPH, WHICH SHOULD BE AVAILABLE IN ITS FINAL FORMULATION FOR TRANSMISSION TO WASHINGTON ON FEBRUARY 11. END SUMMARY

1. "EUROPEAN PARAGRAPH (PAR 2): UK REP SAID THAT LONDON HAD ACCEPTED CRITICISM BY ALLIES THAT ITS NATIONAL FOOTNOTE WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE IN MAIN BODY OF GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP AND AGREED THAT

A MORE GENERALIZED PARAGRAPH IN THE COVER NOTE ON THIS POINT WOULD BE PREFERABLE. HE HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING "EUROPEAN".SUB-PARAGRAPH AT END OF PARA 2 OF COVER NOTE: "IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT ON THE ALLIANCE SIDE THE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING THE APPLICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES TO EUROPEAN FORCES ARE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE AFFECTING THEIR APPLICATION TO US FORCES. ANY PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD FOR STABILIZING MEASURES APPLICABLE TO US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE FIRST PHASE SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A PRECEDENT." UK REP SUGGESTED THAT HE AND OTHER EUROPEAN ALLIES IN NATO GUIDELINES AREA MEET INFORMALLY FOLLOWING SPC MEETING TO REACH AGREEMENT ON TEXT. CANADIAN REP PREFERRED "OTHER ALLIED FORCES" TO "EUROPEAN FORCES."

2. US REP REMARKED THAT WHILE HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO SUCH A
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DRAFTING GROUP, HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE UK PARAGRAPH, SINCE IT IMPLIED THAT ALL THE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING EUROPEAN FORCES WERE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE AFFECTING US FORCES. UK REP RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS A FAIR CRITICISM, BUT THAT LONDON DID WISH TO MAKE CLEAR THAT SOME CONSIDERATIONS ARE DIFFERENT. (COMMENT: FOLLOWING MEETING, AFTER PHONE CONTACT WITH FCO, UK REP ASKED US PRIVATELY IF WE COULD ACCEPT FOLLOWING REFORMULATION OF FIRST SENTENCE: "IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT ON THE ALLIANCE SIDE THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CONSIDERATIONS

AFFECTING THE APPLICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES TO EUROPEAN FORCES AND THOSE AFFECTING THEIR APPLICATION TO US FORCES." US REP RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO WASHINGTON, BUT WONDERED WHETHER UK HAD REACHED AGREEMENT WITH OTHER ALLIES, INCLUDING CANADA ON TEXT. UK REP RECOGNIZED THAT HE MIGHT HAVE

TO ADD A PHRASE SUCH AS "TO EUROPEAN FORCES, IN PARTICULAR, AND THOSE..." TO SATISFY CANAD, BUT HE ADDED THAT LONDON FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING CANADIAN FORCES ARE, IN FACT, THE SAME AS THOSE AFFECTING US FORCES. HE HOPED TO HAVE FINAL TEXT ON FEBRUARY 11, WHICH MISSION WILL TRANSMIT TO WASHINGTON AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. END COMMENT)

3. PRESENTATION OF MEASURES TO EAST (PARA 3): BASED ON SYG LUNS STATEMENT AT FEBRUARY 6 NAC ON DETAIL IN PRESENTATION OF MEASURES TO THE OTHER SIDE (REF A), IS ADDED THIS NEW PARAGRAPH TO EXPLANATORY COVER NOTE, MAKING CLEAR THAT AD HOC GROUP HAS FULL FLEXIBILITY IN DRAWING UPON THIS GUIDANCE AS IT SEES FIT FROM A TACTICAL VIEWPOINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES(PARA 4): SPC HAD LENGTHY DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE.

5. BELGIAN REP, SUPPORTED BY NETHERLANDS, ARGUED STRONGLY THAT PARA 3 IN MAIN BODY OF TEXT ("TO THE EXTENT REQUIRED, THERE SHOULD BE OVERT INSPECTION OF WHATEVER STABILIZING MEASURES ARE NEGOTIATED."

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MUST BE RETAINED WITHOUT CHANGE. HE REJECTED FRG FORMULATION (REF A) FOR THIS PARAGRAPH WHICH WOULD FLAG THE FACT THAT IT IS AN OPEN QUESTION. BELGIAN AUTHORITIES ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES. WITHOUT SUCH A SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION, MEASURES WOULD NOT BE CREDIBLE TO PUBLIC OPINION AND
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WOULD NOT PROVIDE ADDITIONAL WARNING TIME. ESPECIALLY SINCE AD HOC GROUP DID NOT INTEND TO ADDRESS VERIFICATION UNTIL AFTER EASTER RECESS, EAST WOULD GET CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT ALLIES WERE DISINTERESTED

IN VERIFYING STABILIZING MEASURES. MOREOVER, IN BELGIAN VIEW, SEVERAL ELEMENTS OF ALLIED STABILIZING MEASURES PROPOSAL COULD NOT BE COVERED BY A SYSTEM DESIGNED ONLY FOR VERIFICATION OF REDUCTIONS. IT WAS THUS ESSENTIAL TO INCLUDE THIS PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION IN THE MAIN BODY OF THE GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP. BELGIAN REP ALSO RECALLED THAT AMBASSADOR DE STAERCCKE AT FEBRUARY 6 NAC HAD CITED SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF US NOVEMBER 12 PAPER ON STABILIZING MEASURES AS REFLECTING SHAPE VIEW THAT A SYSTEM FOR VERIFYING STABILIZING MEASURES WOULD BE NECESSARY.

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3689

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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6. CANADIAN REP DOUBTED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A VERIFICATION SYSTEM WHICH COULD COVER ALL OF THE DETAILED REQUIREMENTS IN THE ALLIANCE PROPOSALS FOR STABILIZING MEASURES AND BELIEVED IT WOULD IMPRACTICAL TO ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH SUCH AS SYSTEM. . ITALIAN REP OPPOSED A SYSTEM FOR VERIFYING STABILIZING MEASURES, WHICH COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE NGA. ROME BELIEVED THAT NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION WOULD BE ADEQUATE. FRG REP ALSO COULD NOT ACCEPT BELGIAN ARGUMENT THAT A SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION WOULD BE NECESSARY AND ASKED COMMITTEE TO GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO HIS PROPOSED TEXT FOR PARA 3 OF GUIDANCE. (REF A) THERE FOLLOWED A SERIES OF EFFORTS BY CHAIRMAN AND OTHER DELS TO WORK OUT AN ACCEPTABLE TEXT FOR PARA 3.

7. US REP PROPOSED THAT THIS PARAGRAPH BE DROPPED ENTIRELY FROM MAIN BODY OF TEXT. WHATEVER ITS FORMULATION, INCLUSION OF SUCH A PARAGRAPH IN MAIN BODY OF GUIDANCE, WHICH IS DESIGNED FOR USE WITH THE EAST, WOULD AUTHORIZE AD HOC GROUP TO MENTION VERIFICATION PRINCIPLE IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR PRESENTATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES. EVEN IF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WERE TO REFER TO VERIFICATION
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IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WOULD REMAIN AN OPEN QUESTION, MENTIONING IT AT ALL IN THIS CONTEXT WOULD GIVE THE IMPRESSION EITHER THAT ALLIES FAVORED A SEPARATE VERIFICATION SYSTEM FOR THESE MEASURES OR THAT, PARTICULARLY SINCE AHG DID NOT PLAN TO MAKE A FURTHER PRESENTATION ON VERIFICATION MEASURES UNTIL AFTER EASTER, THIS WAS THE ONLY PROPOSAL WHICH ALLIES PLAN TO MAKE IN VERIFICATION FIELD.
US REP ENDORSED CANADIAN REPS POINT ABOUT THE COMPLEXITY OF SUCH A SEPARATE SYSTEM AND RECALLED AMBASSADOR RUMSFELDS STATEMENT IN FEBRUARY 6 NAC OPPOSING A SEPARATE AGREEMENT OF THIS KIND.

8. ON TIMING OF PRESENTATION OF ALLIED VIEWS ON VERIFICATION, US REP COULD NOT UNDERSTAND BELGIAN AND DUTCH CONCERNS. HE RECALLED THAT STATMENT BY US REP ON NOVEMBER 22 IN PRESENTING ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL MADE CLEAR THAT ALLIES WOULD BE MAKING MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS LATER FOR VERIFICATION MEASURES.

US REP DID NOT AGREE WITH BELGIAN INTERPRETATION OF SHAPE VIEWS. HE UNDERSTOOD SHAPE AS MEANING THAT A SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION OF REDUCTIONS WHICH COULD ALSO HELP TO VERIFY MEASURES, COULD INCREASE WARNING TIME, BUT NOT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PROPOSE A SEPARATE VERIFICATION SYSTEM FOR STABILIZING MEASURES. IT WAS DIFFICULT, IN FACT, TO SEE WHAT SUCH A SYSTEM WOULD CONTAIN, BEYOND THE MOBILE TEAMS, STATIC POSTS, ETC. WHICH THE SPC WAS EXAMINING IN A SEPARATE STUDY.

9. MILITARY COMMITTEE REP HELPFULLY AGREED WITH US UNDERSTANDING OF UNRESOLVED ISSUE, IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO DROP IT FROM MAIN BODY OF TEXT AND FLAG IT IN COVER NOTE, AS IS HAD DONE IN PARA 4(A), IN ORDER TO SEND A TEXT TO AD HOC GROUP WHICH DID NOT CONTAIN POINTS WHICH WERE STILL DISAGREED AMONG ALIES. UK REP "APPEALED" TO BELGIAN REP TO DROP PARA 3 FROM TEXT. BELGIAN REP SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND THIS APPROACH TO HIS COLLEAGUES AND HOPED THAT DE STAERCKE WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT IT AT FEBRUARY 13 NAC.

10. MULTILATERALIZATION (PARA 4(B): BELGIAN AND DUTCH REPS, SUPPORTED BY ITALY, PRESED FOR AGREEMENT TO MULTILATERALIZATION OF PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS AND OF INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DROP MENTION OF VERIFICATIN IN GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP. US REP ASKED FOR VIEWS OF OTHERS. ALL OTHER ALLIES, INCLUDING UK, SAID THEY COULD JOIN BELGIAN, NETHERLANDS AND ITALY IN FAVORING THIS DEGREE OF MULTILATERALIZATION. US REP RECALLED CONSISTENT US VIEW THAT IT WAS UP TO OTHER ALLIIES TO DETERMINE THEIR DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION IN STABILIZING

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MEASURES. US REMAINED CONCERNED, HOWEVER, OVER TACTICAL PROBLEM OF PROVIDING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIETS TO PLACE REQUIREMENTS ON EUROPEAN ALLIED FORCES, AS BELGIAN REP HAD SAID HE WOULD DO ON VERIFICATION ISSUE, US REP SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO HIS AUTHORITIES THAT THEY JOIN CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF MULTILATERALIZATION OF PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS AND INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS. (COMMENT: BELGIAN REP HAD TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HIS FOREIGN OFFICE HAS STRONG VIEWS ON VERIFICATION ISSUE, AND THUS MISSION BELIEVED IT BETTER NOT TO ACCEPT MULTILATERALIZATION UNTIL IT WAS CLEAR THAT BELGIAN REP WOULD GET AUTHORITY TO DROP PARA 3 FROM TEXT OF GUIDANCE. IF DE STAERCKE DOES AGREE TO DROP PARA 3 AT FEBRUARY 13 NAC, THEN WE WOULD SUGGEST DROPPING PARA 4(B) IN COVER NOTE AND MAKING APPROPRIATE CHANGES IN TEXT OF GUIDANCE TO PERMIT MULTILATERALIZATION.

END COMMENT)

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10. PARA 29 MEASURES (PARA 5): US REP RECALLED THAT ALLIES HAVE YET TO GIVE DETAILED STUDY TO MEASURES IN PARA 29 OF CM(73)83. HE SAID IT WAS LIKELY THAT AT FEBRUARY 13 NAC, US WOULD PROPOSE THAT THIS STUDY GET UNDER WAY URGENTLY AND THAT ALLIES DROP MEASURE II (LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF FORCES ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE AREA) AND MEASURE III (NOTIFICATION, WITHOUT ADVANCED WARNING, OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS OF FORCES WITHIN THE AREA). HE RECALLED THAT MOST ALLIES OPPOSED MEASURE II AND THAT BELGIUM HAD PUT FORWARD MEASURE III TO US AS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE. US REP SAID THAT MEASURE III DID NOT APPEAR TO BE A MEASURE WORTH PROPOSING TO THE EAST, SINCE IT WAS UNLIKELY TO PROVIDE ANY CONFIDENCE BUILDING OR STABILIZING EFFECT AND WOULD NOT BE CONVINCING TO PARLIAMENTARY OR PUBLIC OPINION.

12. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, THE US PLACED GREAT IMPORTANCE ON MEASURE I (LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF FORCES INTO THE AREA) AND IV (AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THE LEVELS OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES ESTABLISHED BY A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT). THESE MEASURES WERE ESSENTIAL TO ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. HE ALSO NOTED CLOSE SECRET

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO MEASURES AND THE FIRST MEASURE IN THE CURRENT GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP (PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, INCLUDING ROTATIONS) WHICH WERE ALSO RELATED TO MOVEMENTS AND RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS. HE THUS WELCOMED PARA 5 COVER NOTE. (COMMENT: PRIOR TO MEETING, WE SOUNDED OUT CERTAIN DELEGATIONS AND IS ON PACKAGING SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN PARA 4, STATE 24419(NOTAL). THEIR UNANIMOUS VIEW WAS THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE IN THIS GUIDANCE TO AHG TO MAKE REFERENCE TO MEASURES IN PARA 29, SINCE THE ALLIANCE HAD NOT YET REACHED AGREEMENT TO THEM AND GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD CERTAINLY ASK FOR SIMILAR REFERENCES TO PARA 30 MEASURES. IN MISSION'S VIEW,

THEREFORE, BEST SOLUTION POSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE IS CROSS REFERENCE
IN PARA 5 OF COVER NOTE WHICH REMINDS AD HOC GROUP THAT IN
PRESENTING FOUR STABILIZING MEASURES ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD
RECALL THAT THEY HAVE RESERVED THE OPTION TO INTRODUCE OTHER
MEASURES. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR FIRST PRIORITY IN NATO WITH RESPECT
TO PARA 29 MEASUREES IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THEM AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE AD HOC GROUP. GIVEN THE COUNCIL'S
DESIRE TO GIVE AD HOC GROUP TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY, IT IS LIKELY
THAT ALLIES WILL LEAVE PACKAGING AND
PRESENTATION OF MEASURES TO AD HOC GROUP. END COMMENT)
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